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FM AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8611

INFO AMEMBASSY KIGALI

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AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

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UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 05 KINSHASA 06626

PARIS FOR MORAN, BRUSSELS FOR DUBROW

E.O. 12356: DECL: N/A

TAGS: PREF, PHUM, CG, RW

SUBJECT: AN OVERVIEW OF THE RWANDAN REFUGEE CAMPS IN ZAIRE

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

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2. SUMMARY: AS THE HUMANITARIAN CRISIS STABILIZES IN THE RWANDAN REFUGEE CAMPS NEAR THE EASTERN ZAIRE TOWNS OF GOMA AND BUKAVU, RELIEF AGENCIES, ZAIRIAN HOSTS AND REFUGEES ALIKE HAVE FOCUSED ON THE EVER-PRESENT THREAT OF VIOLENCE IN THE CAMPS. THREE MONTHS AFTER THE ONSET OF THE REFUGEE CRISIS, LIVING CONDITIONS ARE NOW MINIMALLY ADEQUATE, AND

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE REVIEW AUTHORITY: JOHN L. MILLS DATE/CASE ID: 3 FEB 2003 200101660

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THE PREVIOUSLY DIRE HEALTH, NUTRITION, AND WATER SITUATION . HAS BEEN STABILIZED. HOWEVER, MOST OF THE CAMPS REMAIN IN THE GRIP OF SHADOWY MILITIA GROUPS AND FORMER RWANDAN GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS WHO PROFIT FROM THE DISTRIBUTION OF RELIEF SUPPLIES, AND THREATEN VIOLENCE WHEN RELIEF ORGANIZATION PLANS -- FROM REFUGEE REGISTRATION TO REPATRIATION -- THREATEN THEIR CONTROL OVER THE REFUGEE POPULATION. THE POLITICAL VOLATILITY IS COMPOUNDED AS FORMER RWANDAN ARMED FORCES (FAR), CONCENTRATED IN THREE CAMPS, APPARENTLY MAINTAIN UNIT COHESION, WHILE EX-INTERIM GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS STRIVE TO MAINTAIN THEIR POLITICAL BASE AND PLOT A COMEBACK FROM THEIR ZAIRIAN EXILE. FRUSTRATED AID WORKERS, THREATENED WITH VIOLENCE, AND FORCED TO FUNNEL ASSISTANCE THROUGH THOSE WHO MAY BE GUILTY OF GENOCIDE, ARE THREATENING TO PULL OUT UNLESS AN EFFECTIVE INTERNATIONAL SECURITY FORCE IS ESTABLISHED. END SUMMARY.

3. AN EMBASSY KINSHASA POLOFF, ACCOMPANIED BY THE DATT, TRAVELED TO THE NORTH AND SOUTH KIVU PROVINCIAL CAPITALS OF GOMA AND BUKAVU OCTOBER 31 - NOVEMBER 5. THEY TOURED REPRESENTATIVE REFUGEE CAMPS IN THE AREA, AND INTERVIEWED OFFICIALS FROM THE LOCAL UN OFFICES, AND RELIEF AGENCIES, AS WELL AS LOCAL ZAIRIAN GOVERNMENT AND COMMUNITY LEADERS. THE FOLLOWING REPORT IS BASED ON INFORMATION GAINED DURING THEIR UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

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SNAPSHOT OF THE CAMPS:

4. REFUGEE POPULATIONS HAVE STABLIZED AND SETTLED SINCE THE MASSIVE INFLUX OF MID-JULY. GOMA AND BUKAVU NOW PRESENT A MARKED CONTRAST TO THAT INITIAL PERIOD: REFUGEES, THEIR CATTLE AND POSSESSIONS NO LONGER JAM THE MAIN THOROUGHFARES, OR CAMP IN TRAFFIC CIRCLES OR VACANT LOTS. VIRTUALLY ALL OF THE REFUGEES HAVE MOVED TO CAMPS OUTSIDE OF THE TOWNS. THE SPONTANEOUS ENCAMPMENT OF MUNIGI, WHERE SEVERAL HUNDRED THOUSAND PEOPLE SQUATTED ON THE INHOSPITABLE LAVA BEDS JUST NORTH OF GOMA, HAS NOW BEEN EMPTIED. IN THE GOMA AREA, THE BULK OF THE REFUGEES ARE CONCENTRATED ALONG THE ROAD RUNNING NORTH TO RUTUSHURU, IN THE CAMPS OF KIBUMBA, KAHINDO AND KATALE. THE CAMPS OF MUGUNGA (WHERE MOST OF THE EX-FAR SOLDIERS ARE CONCENTRATED) AND KITUKU ARE LOCATED ALONG THE

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ROAD THAT RUNS WEST FROM GOMA TO THE TOWN OF SAKE. THE CAMPS AROUND BUKAVU ARE MUCH SMALLER AND MORE DISPERSED. THERE ARE TWENTY-SIX SITES CLUSTERED AROUND THREE ROADS THAT RUN TO THE NORTH, THE SOUTHEAST (TOWARD UVIRA) AND THE SOUTHWEST OF BUKAVU. THE UNHOR HOPES EVENTUALLY TO CONSOLIDATE THEM INTO TEN LARGER CAMPS TO FACILITATE ADMINISTRATION.

5. THE THREAT FROM THE MILITIAS HAS PREVENTED THE INTERNATIONAL AGENCIES FROM REGISTERING THE REFUGEE POPULATION. UNHCR OFFICIALS IN THE AREA ESTIMATE THAT SOME 815,000 REFUGEES ARE IN THE GOMA AREA, 740,000 OF THEM IN THE DESIGNATED CAMPS. AN ESTIMATED 330,000 RWANDAN REFUGEES UNCLASSIFIED

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ARE IN THE CAMPS AROUND BUKAVU. (THE MOSTLY BURUNDIAN
REFUGEE POPULATION IN SOUTH KIVU PROVINCE'S UVIRA VALLEY IS
ALSO CREEPING UPWARD, AS CONFLICTS CONTINUE IN BURUNDI. IN
THE FINAL WEEK OF OCTOBER ALONE, THERE WERE 30,000 NEW
ARRIVALS IN THE VALLEY.) THERE APPEARS TO BE RELATIVELY
LITTLE MOVEMENT BETWEEN THE CAMPS, WHICH ARE TAKING ON A
PERMANENT ASPECT. ALL OBSERVERS AGREE THAT REPATRIATION IS
VIRTUALLY NIL. THE MAJOR EXCEPTION CONSISTS OF ETHNIC
TUTSIS, BOTH 1994 ARRIVALS AND LONG-TERM RESIDENTS OF ZAIRE
WHO LEFT RWANDA IN THE 1950S AND 1960S. EACH WEEK, BETWEEN
100 AND 200 ETHNIC TUTSIS LEAVE THE GOMA AREA FOR RWANDA.

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AMEMBASSY BRAZZAVILLE
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UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 05 KINSHASA 06626

PARIS FOR MORAN, BRUSSELS FOR DUBROW

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TAGS: PREF, PHUM, CG, RW
SUBJECT: AN OVERVIEW OF THE RWANDAN REFUGEE CAMPS IN ZAIRE

6. THE LARGEST, MOST NOTORIOUS CAMPS ARE KIBUMBA AND UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

KINSHA 06626 02 OF 05 081415Z PAGE 02 KATALE, NORTH OF GOMA. THE OCCUPANTS OF THESE CAMPS, AND THE GOMA AREA IN GENERAL, ARRIVED IN LARGE, COHESIVE GROUPS DURING JUST FIVE DAYS IN JULY, WHEN THE RWANDAN INTERIM GOVERNMENT IN GISENYE WAS FALLING. WHOLE NEIGHBORHOODS AND VILLAGES, COMPLETE WITH LOCAL GOVERNMENT STRUCTURES, ARRIVED ALMOST INTACT, AND CONGREGATED IN A FEW ENORMOUS SITES, SOME OF WHICH WERE LATER OFFICIALLY DESIGNATED AS CAMPS. THE BUKAVU REFUGEES IN THE BUKAVU AREA ARRIVED IN SMALLER GROUPS, WHICH TENDED TO MOVE BACK AND FORTH ACROSS THE BORDER AS LONG AS THE FRENCH SECURITY ZONE WAS MAINTAINED. THE REFUGEE SITES, MOST OF WHICH WERE OFFICIALLY DESIGNATED AS SUCH, ARE MUCH SMALLER AND MORE DISPERSED THAN IN GOMA. CONSEQUENTLY, THE STRUCTURES OF THE FORMER RWANDAN GOVERNMENT HAVE BEEN WEAKENED IN MANY OF THE BUKAVU CAMPS.

MINIMAL STATISFACTION OF BASIC NEEDS

7. CONDITIONS IN THE CAMPS, HELLISH IN THE EARLY DAYS, HAVE BEEN UPGRADED TO PURGATORIAL STATUS. WHILE CASES OF MALNUTRITION AND INFECTIOUS ILLNESSES PERSIST IN THE CAMPS, RELIEF OFFICIALS UNANIMOUSLY AGREE THAT FOOD SUPPLIES ARE ADEQUATE AT PRESENT, AND EPIDEMICS ARE LARGELY UNDER

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CONTROL. IN THE THREE MONTHS SINCE THE ONSET OF THE CRISIS, RELIEF ORGANIZATIONS HAVE BUILT ACCESS ROADS INTO THE SPRAWLING CAMPS, SET UP WATER PURIFICATION AND STORAGE SITES, CONSTRUCTED LATRINES AND SET UP CLINICS AND EVEN A FIELD HOSPITAL WITH AN OPERATING ROOM IN THE KIBUMBA CAMP. VIRTUALLY ALL CAMP RESIDENTS HAVE RECEIVED PLASTIC SHEETING TO COVER THE MAKESHIFT HUTS WHICH ARE BUILT CHEEK BY JOWL ON THE MUDDY GROUND. FOOD IS DISTRIBUTED ONCE A WEEK IN MOST UNCLASSIFIED

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CAMPS. WHILE SOME RELIEF WORKERS WORRY THAT THERE IS NOT
ENOUGH FOOD IN THE PIPELINE, MALNUTRITION RATES ARE
PRESENTLY RELATIVELY LOW, UNDER FIVE OR TEN PERCENT FOR
CHILDREN IN MOST CAMPS (A RATE THAT COMPARES FAVORABLY WITH
THE LOCAL ZAIRIAN POPULATION.) IN SOME CAMPS, RELIEF
WORKERS ARE DISTRIBUTING FIREWOOD, IN A LAST-DITCH EFFORT TO
SLOW THE REGION'S DEVASTATING DE-FORESTATION.

- 8. A THRIVING COMMERCE HAS GROWN UP IN THE LARGER CAMPS AND BETWEEN THE CAMPS AND THE LOCAL COMMUNITIES. ROADSIDE VENDORS SELL EVERYTHING FROM RELIEF GOODS TO FRESHLY-SLAUGHTERED BEEF TO SECOND-HAND SHOES. AN ENTREPRENEUR IN THE KIBUMBA CAMP MAKES COOKING POTS OUT OF EMPTY METAL COOKING-OIL CANISTERS, WHILE AN ESTIMATED 465 BARTENDERS SELL BEER IN THE RED-LIGHT DISTRICTS OF THE KATALE CAMP. JAPANESE-DONATED INTERCITY BUSES, COMANDEERED BY THE FAR WHEN THEY RETREATED FROM RWANDA, NOW CARRY PASSENGERS BETWEEN THE NORTH KIVU CAMPS AND GOMA, PRESUMABLY EARNING A TIDY PROFIT FOR THEIR OPERATORS.
- 9. THE EXPATRIATE UNHOR STAFF IN GOMA HAS GROWN FROM A COUPLE DOZEN IN PRE-CRISIS DAYS TO OVER 120 TODAY. ABOUT EIGHTY-FIVE AGENCIES WORK IN THE AREA. INTERAGENCY COORDINATION MEETINGS, HELD DAILY IN THE EARLY DAYS OF THE CRISIS, ARE NOW HELD TWICE A MONTH AND ARE POORLY ATTENDED. THE GOMA UNHOR DIRECTOR LAMENTS THAT THERE IS INADEQUATE COORDINATION ON ISSUES SUCH AS LOCAL WAGE SCALES, AND DIVISION OF LABOR. THE BUKAVU OPERATION IS SMALLER AND MORE INFORMAL, WITH ABOUT TWO DOZEN UNHOR WORKERS COORDINATING THE ACTIVITIES OF ABOUT FIFTEEN NGOS. MOST WORKERS WITH THE UN AND THE NGOS ARE CONTRACTED FOR THREE MONTHS OR LESS, A UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 04 KINSHA 06626 02 OF 05 081415Z FACTOR WHICH PRESUMABLY TENDS TO LIMIT THEIR CONTACTS WITH LOCAL GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS.

A DANGEROUS SECURITY SITUATION

10. HOWEVER, INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, AND MUCH LESS THE ZAIRIAN AUTHORITIES, HAVE NEVER HAD CONTROL OVER THE CAMPS. FORMER OFFICIALS IN THE RWANDAN GOVERNMENT AND MILITARY HAVE ALWAYS HELD THE REAL POWER. THE FORMER RWANDAN INTERIM GOVERNMENT HAS LOST THE WAR, THE GOVERNMENT, AND THE TERRITORY; THEIR HOLD OVER THE REFUGEE POPULATION REMAINS THEIR LAST CLAIM TO POWER. THERE IS NO INDICATION THAT

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PARIS FOR MORAN, BRUSSELS FOR DUBROW

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TAGS: PREF, PHUM, CG, RW

SUBJECT: AN OVERVIEW OF THE RWANDAN REFUGEE CAMPS IN ZAIRE

THEY, OR THE MILITIAS AND EX-FAR ELEMENTS THAT SUPPORT THEM, UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 KINSHA 06626 03 OF 05 081416Z WILL WILLINGLY RELINQUISH THAT CONTROL. UNHCR'S GOMA DIRECTOR FLATLY STATES THAT RELIEF AGENCIES CANNOT UNDERTAKE A CENSUS AND REGISTRATION OF THE REFUGEES, OR ASSIST WITH VOLUNTARY REPATRIATION -- BOTH ACTIVITIES HIGHLY THREATENING TO THE DE FACTO CAMP AUTHORITIES -- WITHOUT THE PROTECTION OF A CREDIBLE INTERNATIONAL FORCE.

THE SHADOW OF THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT

ACCORDING TO OBSERVERS IN BOTH GOMA AND BUKAVU THE SELF-EXILED ELITES OF THE RWANDAN INTERIM GOVERNMENT SEEM TO CONSIDER THEIR DEFEAT AND THE ROUT OF THE FAR AS NO MORE THAN A TEMPORARY SETBACK. TOP OFFICIALS OF THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT, INCLUDING THE FORMER PRESIDENT, HAVE SETTLED IN AND AROUND BUKAVU, WHERE THE SOUTH KIVU PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT IS VOCALLY SUPPORTIVE OF THE HUTU CAUSE. FORMER PRESIDENT IS NO LONGER A GUEST OF THE SOUTH KIVU PROVINCIAL GOVERNOR, HOWEVER.) THE FORMER JUSTICE MINISTER HAS PUBLISHED AND ANTI-RPF PAMPHLET WHICH IS ON SALE IN KIOSKS THROUGHOUT BUKAVU, AND THE FORMER FOREIGN MINISTER WAS SEEN WORKING THE CROWDS IN REFUGEE CAMPS NEAR GOMA. OTHER ELITES OF THE DEFEATED INTERIM GOVERNMENT ARE SETTLED IN THE SPONTANEOUS SITE OF MUKU, JUST SOUTHWEST OF BUKAVU. (STRONG LOCAL SYMPATHIES FOR THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT DID NOT. APPARENTLY, EXTEND TO THE MORE AQUISITVE MEMBERS OF THE ZAIRIAN ARMED FORCES (FAZ), WHO REPORTEDLY CONFISCATED MOST OF THE MERCEDES BENZS BELONGING TO THESE BETTER-HEELED REFUGEES.)

12. THE EX-FAR, MEANWHILE, APPEARS TO BE MAINTAINING SOME UNCLASSIFIED

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OF ITS COHESION AND DISCIPLINE, IF NOT ITS UNIFORMS. THE
EX-FAR AND THEIR FAMILIES ARE CONCENTRATED IN THREE CAMPS:

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MUGUNGA, ON THE SAKE ROAD WEST OF GOMA, HOLDS AN ESTIMATED 22,000 EX-FAR; AND THE SPONTANEOUS (NON-UNHCR ASSISTED) CAMPS OF PANZI, JUST A FEW KILOMETERS TO THE SOUTHEAST OF BUKAVU, AND BULONGE, SOME 100 KILOMETERS TO THE SOUTHWEST. HOLD AN ESTIMATED TOTAL OF 11,000 EX-FAR. (ALL NUMBERS ARE ESTIMATES; DATT BELIEVES THE ESTIMATE FOR THE MUGUNGA CAMP IN PARTICULAR ARE HIGH.) EXPATRIATE OBSERVERS IN BUKAVU CLAIM THE EX-FAR ARE STILL GETTING PAID. RELIEF WORKERS AND LOCAL COMMUNITY LEADERS BELIEVE THE EX-FAR ARE STILL DOING SOME ORGANIZED PHYSICAL TRAINING IN THE CAMPS ALTHOUGH THERE IS AS YET NO EVIDENCE THAT THEY ARE TRAINING WITH WEAPONS, WHICH NONETHELESS ARE READILY AVAILABLE. (NORTH KIVU GOVERNOR MOTO MUPENDA PROUDLY MAINTAINED THAT THE FAZ HAD CONFISCATED ALL WEAPONS FROM RETREATING FAR ELEMENTS WHO ENTERED ZAIRE AT THE OFFICIAL BORDER CROSSINGS, AND SAID THAT THESE WEAPONS WERE STORED IN SECURE FACILITIES AROUND GOMA. EVEN HE ADMITTED, HOWEVER, THAT MANY WEAPONS HAD SUBSEQUENTLY ENTERED THE AREA THROUGH REMOTER STRETCHES OF THE BORDER.)

13. RECENTLY, HOWEVER, THE EX-FAR HAS LOWERED ITS PROFILE. DURING THE LAST MONTH, WHEN TALK OF MOVING THE EX-FAR AWAY FROM THE BORDER BEGAN TO CIRCULATE, UNIFORMS BEGAN TO DISAPPEAR. DURING A NOVEMBER 2 DRIVE PAST THE MUGUNGA CAMP VERY FEW UNIFORMS WERE IN EVIDENCE, ALTHOUGH THE CAMP CLEARLY HOSTED A DISPROPORTIONATE NUMBER OF PURPOSEFUL, MILITARY-AGED YOUNG MEN IN CIVILIAN CLOTHES. (FOR SECURITY REASONS, UNHCR OFFICIALS IN GOMA STRONGLY RECOMMENDED THAT AMERICAN EMBOFFS REMAIN IN THEIR VEHICLE IN MUGUNGA, AND NOT UNCLASSIFIED

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TOUR THE CAMP ON FOOT.) REPORTEDLY, ONLY THE SOLDIERS IN
THE REMOTE BULONGE CAMP STILL MOSTLY RETAIN THEIR UNIFORMS,
AND WOULD BE READILY INDENTIFIABLE AS FAR SHOULD AN EFFORT
BE MADE TO MOVE THEM FROM THE BORDER.

GRASSROOTS CONTROL

14. THE POSTURING OF THE EX-FAR AND THE TOP FORMER INTERIM GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS WOULD BE MANAGEABLE WERE IT NOT FOR THE PRESENCE OF MID-LEVEL AND LOCAL OFFICIALS, STRONGMEN, AND THE MILITIAS WHO EXTEND THEIR CONTROL DOWN TO THE GRASSROOTS LEVEL OF THE CAMPS. THE MILITIAS ARE LESS IDENTIFIABLE THAN

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UNCLAS SECTION 04 OF 05 KINSHASA 06626

PARIS FOR MORAN, BRUSSELS FOR DUBROW

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SUBJECT: AN OVERVIEW OF THE RWANDAN REFUGEE CAMPS IN ZAIRE

THE FAR, AND MORE CONNECTED TO THE MASSACRES TOUCHED OFF UNCLASSIFIED

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LAST APRIL. UNHCR OFFICIALS BELIEVE THEY ARE ESPECIALLY
ACTIVE IN THE LARGE CAMPS OF KIBUMBA AND KATALE, AND IN THE
BUKAVU-AREA CAMP OF KASHUSHA. EVEN WITHOUT THE MILITIAS,
THE CAMP, VIRTUALLY UNPOLICED, ARE VIOLENT PLACES. WEAPONS
SUCH AS MACHETES AND HOES ARE UBIQUITOUS, GUNS ARE BELIEVED
TO BE READILY AVAILABLE, AND CRIMINALS RELEASED FROM THE

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PRISONS MIX WITH THE LOCAL POPULATION. MURDERS AND THREATS ARE A DAILY OCCURANCE IN THE CAMPS, WHETHER TO INTIMIDATE WOULD-BE REPATRIATES, ELIMINATE SUSPECTED TUTSIS, OR SIMPLY TO SETTLE PERSONAL QUARRELS. THE MILITIAS ADD TO THE CLIMATE OF PERVASIVE VIOLENCE AND INTIMIDATION.

15. FORMER MID-LEVEL OFFICIALS IN THE FORMER RWANDAN GOVERNMENT CONTROL THE DISTRIBUTION OF FOOD AND NON-FOOD ITEMS IN MOST OF THE CAMPS. THEIR OFT-STATED INTENTIONS NOTWITHSTANDING, THE RELIEF ORGANIZATIONS HAVE NEVER TAKEN A CENSUS OR REGISTERED THE REFUGEE POPULATION; CONSEQUENTLY, THEY HAVE NEVER BEEN ABLE TO DISTRIBUTE GOODS DIRECTLY TO INDIVIDUALS IN NEED. IN THE CAMP OF KIBUMBA, WITH AN ESTIMATED POPULATION OF TWO HUNDRED THOUSAND, WEEKLY FOOD RATIONS ARE DISTRIBUTED ON A SCHEDULE THAT ROTATES AMONG THE REFUGEES' PREFECTS OF ORIGIN IN RWANDA. A ZAIRIAN FIELD WORKER IN THE KIBUMBA CAMP SAID THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN RWANDA CONSISTED OF FOUR LAYERS: THE PREFECTURE, THE DIVISION, THE SECTOR AND THE CELL, IN DESCENDING ORDER. RELIEF WORKERS IN KIBUMBA HAVE SUCCEEDED IN BYPASSING THE FIRST TWO LAYERS. THEY DISTRIBUTE FOOD RATIONS DIRECTLY TO THE FORMER SECTOR LEADERS, WHO THEN GET TO MAKE THE HIGHLY POLITICAL DECISIONS OF WHO AMONG THEIR IMPOVERISHED FORMER CONSTITUENTS GETS WHAT. IN SOME OF THE BUKAVU-AREA CAMPS, FOOD IS DISTRIBUTED THROUGH LEADERS SUPOSEDLY DESIGNATED BY UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 03 KINSHA 06626 04 OF 05 081417Z THE CAMP POPULATION, MOST OF THEM BELIEVED TO BE FORMER GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS.

- 16. THE INDIRECT FOOD DISTRIBUTION CONFRONTS RELIEF WORKERS WITH A MORAL AND ETHICAL QUANDARY. THEY HAVE NO WAY OF ENSURING THAT VULNERABLE POPULATIONS IN THE CAMP, SUCH AS PREGNANT WOMEN AND FEMALE-HEADED HOUSEHOLDS, ARE GETTING THEIR FAIR SHARE. THEY HAVE EVERY REASON TO SUSPECT, HOWEVER, THAT THE POWERFUL AND THE UNSCRUPULOUS -- MANY OF THEM CLOSELY CONNECTED TO THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT AND THE GENOCIDE -- ARE APPROPRIATING THE BULK OF THE DONATED GOODS, AND RESELLING THEM ON THE BURGEONING BLACK MARKET. ATTEMPTS TO REGISTER REFUGEES AND DISTRIBUTE FOOD DIRECTLY HAVE SO FAR BEEN MET WITH THREATS OF VIOLENCE FROM THOSE WHO DO VERY WELL BY THE STATUS QUO.
- 17. INTERESTINGLY, THERE ARE A FEW POCKETS OF STABILITY IN

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THE CAMPS, MOSTLY IN THOSE CAMPS WHERE FORMER RWANDAN GOVERNMENT PRESENCE HAS BEEN WEAKENED OR DILUTED, ALLOWING THE NGOS TO ESTABLISH A DISTRIBUTION OF GOODS TO INDIVIDUAL FAMILY ELDERS. THE 60,000 RESIDENTS OF THE THE KAHINDO CAMP HAVE ALL BEEN REGISTERED AND ISSUED RATION CARDS. KAHINDO HAS A WELL-DEFINED PERIMETER, AND DOES NOT SUFFER THE SAME SECURITY PROBLEMS AS THE SPRAWLING 200,000 PERSON-STRONG CAMP OF KATALE, WHICH ALMOST SURROUNDS IT. IN BUKAVU, THE CARITAS-ADMINISTERED INERA IS CONSIDERED A MODEL CAMP, IN CONTRAST TO THE NEIGHBORING CAMP OF KASHUSHA, WHERE THE MILITIAS ARE ACTIVE. IN BUKAVU'S CHIMANGA CAMP, BURUNDIAN AND RWANDAN REFUGEES ARE MIXED TOGETHER, DILUTING THE FORMER RWANDAN GOVERNMENT INFLUENCE AND ALLOWING FOR THE EVOLUTION OF A FAMILY-BASED DISTRIBUTION SYSTEM.

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A STRUGGLE TO ESTABLISH ORDER

18. AS THE HOST COUNTRY, ZAIRE IS RESPONSIBLE FOR PROVIDING SECURITY TO THE REFUGEES, RELIEF WORKERS AND THE LOCAL ZAIRIAN POPULATION. RELIEF WORKERS AND OTHER OBSERVERS NONETHELESS RUEFULLY ADMIT THAT THE JOB IS FAR BEYOND THE CAPABILITIES OF THE POORLY-TRAINED, UNDISCIPLINED MEMBERS OF THE FAZ, WHO HAVE NOT EVEN RECEIVED THEIR PALTRY SALARIES FOR OVER A MONTH. UNHCR'S GOMA OFFICE HAS SET UP A PILOT PROGRAM TO SET UP A FAZ POLICE FORCE IN THE CAMPS. SMALL CONTINGENTS OF GENDARMES ARE CAUTIOUSLY ESTABLISHING A

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ACTION PRM-10

INFO LOG-00 AF-01 AID-01 AMAD-01 CA-02 CIAE-00 OASY-00 DODE-00 EUR-01 OIGO-01 TEDE-00 INR-00 IO-16 ADS-00

NSAE-00 OIC-02 SR-00 DRL-09 /044W

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FM AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8615
INFO AMEMBASSY KIGALI
AMEMBASSY BRAZZAVILLE
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
USMISSION GENEVA

UNCLAS SECTION 05 OF 05 KINSHASA 06626

PARIS FOR MORAN, BRUSSELS FOR DUBROW

E.O. 12356: DECL: N/A
TAGS: PREF, PHUM, CG, RW
SUBJECT: AN OVERVIEW OF THE RWANDAN REFUGEE CAMPS IN ZAIRE

PRESENCE IN THE KATELE AND MUGUNGA CAMPS. A CIVIL GUARD UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 02 KINSHA 06626 05 OF 05 081418Z CONTINGEANT IS IN KIBUMBA. (POLOFFS SAW TWO CIVIL GUARDS AT THE KIBUMBA FIELD HEADQUARTERS, ALTHOUGH THESE SMALL UNITS DO NOT YET HAVE THE CONFIDENCE TO PATROL THE CAMPS THEMSELVES.) IN KEEPING WITH LOCAL CUSTOM, UNHCR IS PAYING A SALARY OF THREE DOLLARS PER SOLDIER PER DAY TO GUARANTEE THE SOLDIERS' DISCIPLINE AND LOYALTY. UNHCR'S BUKAVU OFFICE IS CONSIDERING A SIMILAR PROGRAM. WHILE ENCOURAGING, HOWEVER, THE PROGRAM IS HARDLY ADEQUATE TO THE SCOPE OF THE PROBLEM. NGOS AND UN AGENCIES IN GOMA HAVE BECOME INCREASINGLY VOCAL IN THEIR INSISTANCE THAT A MULTINATIONAL SECURITY FORCE TO PROTECT THE NGO'S AND ENABLE THEM TO EFFECTIVELY CARRY OUT THEIR WORK. IN AN OPEN LETTER RELEASED NOVEMBER 3, NGOS ACTIVE IN GOMA THREATENED TO PULL OUT OF THE AREA ENTIRELY IF THEIR DEMANDS FOR ENHANCED SECURITY WERE NOT MET. THE SOLUTION CURRENTLY FAVORED BY THE MAJORITY OF NGOS AND LOCAL ZAIRIAN OFFICIALS, IS FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A SECURITY ZONE ON THE RWANDAN SIDE OF THE BORDER TO WHICH THE CAMP INHABITANS WOULD BE MOVED, AND PROTECTED BY A CREDIBLE INTERNATIONAL FORCE. SOLUTION WOULD AT LEAST GET THE PROBLEM OUT OF ZAIRE'S BACK

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YARD.

19. COMMENT: NO PARTICULAR INCIDENT HAS TOUCHED OFF THE NGO'S HEIGHTENED CONCERN ABOUT SECURITY. NONETHELESS, THEY RECOGNIZE THAT THE CAMPS HAVE ALWAYS BEEN VIOLENT AND INADEQUATELY POLICED. GIVEN THE STRONG INTEREST OF THE MILITIAS, THE EX-FAR, AND FORMER RWANDAN GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS IN EXPLOITING THE SITUATION FOR THEIR OWN ENDS, SUBSTANTIAL FORCE WOULD BE REQUIRED TO ENABLE THE NGO'S TO TAKE CONTROL OF THE CAMPS. END COMMENT.

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